PETROV CASE: ESPIONAGE OR POLITICS?

THE Nation

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May 29, 1954
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CLIMAX OF AN ERA

"Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

—The Supreme Court

WHAT NEXT?

Comment by Harry S. Ashmore, Louis L. Redding, Oliver Hill, Arthur D. Shores, Carey McWilliams

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Pact Among Equals *W. Macmahon Ball*

Knight Over California *Stanley P. Isaacs*

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WHEN ASKED why he wrote "The Big Picture," one of the two books offered this month by The Nation's Choice, David Cort said: "I just wanted to know how many live lions and cottontail rabbits and gray wolves there were in the world; and what the human population of the world was in the year 1000 A. D., and whether you could believe everything you read in the encyclopedia; and whether Western civilization was really in such a bad way as everybody said. Since I couldn't find any book with the answers, I wrote this one, and at least it has those answers, with no waste words."

You'll find, when you read it, that Mr. Cort's book has a lot of other answers. For further details take a look at the center spread.

I SUPPOSE every publication is entitled to a "boner" every quarter-century or so. Ralph B. Guinness writes us that in 1924 or 1925 he submitted an article —which *The Nation* rejected—"predicting transpolar air commerce, imperialist rivalry and war for control of these routes and landing bases." Subsequently *The Nation* ran a piece, says Mr. Guinness, brushing off such ideas as nonsense. In the light of current activities in the polar regions, Mr. Guinness asks if we wouldn't like to make a "retraction" and print the article. A little late for the article—it was printed somewhere else in 1925—but we cheerfully acknowledge his gifts as a prophet.

LOOKS as if Eric Sander, out in Milwaukee, may have started something when he offered, through this column, to supply "McCarthy for Führer" buttons. He received a number of requests, and now H. Rabe sends us Dick Friendlich's May 14 column from the San Francisco *Chronicle*, which reports: "Four Stanford students—Bill Metcalf, Wayne Mall, Ben Harris, and Vern Clinton—started those 'McCarthy for Führer' buttons as a gag ten days ago. They disposed of 3,000 of them so quickly that they are reordering and planning to put out match-books with the same motif."

A SUBSCRIBER with a New York City apartment to sublet placed an advertisement in *The Nation's* classified columns. The responses, she wrote, "were so highly favorable that we are in the pleasant dilemma of finding it difficult to make a choice. Perhaps we should have known that *The Nation* attracts the kind of subscriber and reader who is in many respects the kind of person we would be glad to call a friend." (Moral: Next time *you* have occasion to place a classified ad, try *The Nation.*)

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

For Richard Graves

Dear Sirs: Having served as campaign manager for Mayor Cross during his bid for the indorsement of the California Democratic Council at its pre-primary convention at Fresno, my strong admiration for him has never wavered. This did not preclude me, however, from becoming enthusiastic for the convention choice for Governor, Richard Graves, after I had an opportunity to hear his views. I am convinced that Richard Graves is a true liberal, and I have joined Mayor Cross in publicly supporting Mr. Graves's candidacy. The California Democratic Council, of which I am a director, has succeeded in uniting the Democrats in California behind a solid slate of liberal candidates led by Richard Graves, and their success against the Republicans at the primary is now assured. Those dissidents like Mr. Jencks [letters column of *The Nation*, May 15] had better review their ivory-tower thinking and join in supporting the convention's choice. The alternative is to repeat the last fifty years, during which, solely because of a divided Democratic Party in California, we only succeeded in electing one Democratic Governor.

FRED ZWEIBACK

Pacific Palisades, Calif.

The Author's View

Dear Sirs: This is the first time in thirty years of publishing that I have ever answered a reviewer, but both your reviewer of "The Measure of Man" and Professor Skinner who writes in to support him completely misrepresent the book. Professor Perry treats it as an attack on the scientific method when it is actually a criticism of the false premises of a particular science. He then rebukes me for not taking account of the fact that, in general, science has been becoming less mechanistic when I devote the entire next-to-the-last chapter to discussing precisely this fact.

Professor Skinner dismisses my thesis by saying that after all "conditioning" and the techniques for creating opinion do really work. My objection to them is just that they do—within limits and on most people. My carefully elaborated point is that this is their danger. By working so well they minimize the extent to which reason is effective in human affairs.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Tucson, Ariz.

The Mine-Mill Victory

Dear Sirs: We in Mine-Mill were pleased to see your article on our Montana election victory in your issue of April 10. However, there were several factual errors which we hasten to correct. The article refers to "the more than 10,000 members" in Mine-Mill. The correct figure is 100,000. The article in two places reported mistakenly that Joe Mason "led 2,000 miners" out of our union. There were only 200 workers present at the December 27 meeting at which Mason engineered his illegal secession move. The "move to set up a local labor-relations board" is incorrectly attributed to Mine-Mill members. The board was created on the initiative of District Judge John B. McLernan.

Finally, the article is wrong in saying "this was the second setback for the steel workers" in their effort to capture Mine-Mill locals. The raids against our locals have been going on since 1949; they have been defeated repeatedly.

ROD HOLMGREN,
Public Relations Director,
International Union of Mine, Mill,
Denver, Col. and Smelter Workers

Mr. Clurman's Eloquence

Dear Sirs: Harold Clurman's open and unabashed love letter [*The Nation*, March 6] to Audrey Hepburn was a pleasant antidote to some of the deadly political reporting in other parts of the same issue. Since Mr. Clurman's infatuation for Miss Hepburn is shared by nearly every drama critic—and by thousands of other males bordering on middle age—there should be no cause for embarrassment on the part of anyone. He has merely verbalized eloquently what oft was thought but could not be expressed.

Lawrence, Kan. BURLING LOWREY

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

Again the Big Stick

THE State Department called it a "development of gravity," the President found it disturbing. Senator Wiley spoke of a "Communist conspiracy" and called for urgent consultations. The State Department, having "informed" Latin American diplomats of the event, was prepared to "let" one of the Latin American countries "take the initiative" in proposing a method of dealing with the situation.

And what was this grave, disturbing, possibly dangerous happening? Well, Guatemala had bought a shipment of arms which arrived at Puerto Barrios in a Swedish vessel hailing from Stettin, Poland. That is what had happened—just that. The origin of the arms is still unknown. So is the quantity, though it is described in Washington as large. Small or large, the Administration has blown it up into an international incident of impressive magnitude, and by doing so has crudely revealed the town-bully attitude it tried so hard to hide at Caracas under a camouflage of pan-American "unity."

But what kind of attitude is this? How does it differ from the attitude of Russia toward one of its lesser satellites? The State Department is angry at Guatemala for pursuing a left-wing policy—though it does not pretend that the Arbenz government is actually Communist or run by Communists. It is also annoyed by Guatemala's stubborn, tough dealings with big American companies operating there. And so, obsessed with its role as boss-defender of the hemisphere, it refuses to sell arms to Guatemala, refuses to allow Guatemala to buy arms from friendly nations, and then denounces Guatemala as a threat to security when it gets arms where it can.

Foreign Minister Toriello met the State Department's challenge by informing the press and the diplomatic corps—barring our Ambassador—that while Guatemala had tried long and hard to buy arms in the United States, it was "not a colony . . . nor an associated state that requires permission of the United States government to acquire the things indispensable for its defense." These words will find a warm response throughout the hemisphere, no matter what may be the official reaction of some of the states now "associated" with the United States by military-aid pacts. One of these, Nicaragua, has already obliged by breaking relations with Guatemala. Its durable dictator, Anastasio Somoza, long at odds with his radical neighbor, is expected to exercise the "initiative" proffered by Washington and call together the Organization of American States to discuss the "menace of communism" in Guatemala. Another sure-fire Administration ally will be the Dominican President, Rafael Trujillo.

But whether such a gathering will line up the hemisphere behind the State Department remains to be seen. Even in these two loyal dictatorships, echoes can still be heard of the marching feet and rattling machine-guns that brought the benefits of Yankee democracy to the people of Nicaragua and Santo Domingo. Those echoes will speak for Toriello if the American republics sit down to decide whether Guatemala has or has not the right to buy arms without the permission of Washington.

The Climax of an Era . . . *Carey McWilliams*

THE Supreme Court's unanimous decision outlawing segregation in American public education has won national approval as nearly unanimous as any such verdict is ever likely to do. If anything, world opinion was even more emphatic. Even the Communist powers, we suspect, must privately have applauded the decision. In Kenya a spokesman for the Luo tribe voiced the growing world-wide sentiment against all forms of racial discrimination when he said: "America is right. . . . If we are not educated together, we will live in fear of one another. If we are to stay together forever, why should we have separate schools? "Quite apart from this sentiment, the decision was especially welcome at this time since it enabled us and our friends abroad for the first time in some years to be equally and simultaneously enthusiastic about an important announcement from Washington. The decision was a fine antidote to the blight of McCarthyism and kindred fevers.

The dead no less than the living must have rejoiced. Among the ghosts that smiled with pleasure—it is somehow easier to imagine them smiling than cheering—were Homer Adolph Plessy, the one-eighth-Negro plaintiff in *Plessy* vs. *Ferguson,* in which the iniquitous "separate but equal," doctrine was first announced, and his counsel,

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Albion Winegar Tourgée—who is better known, perhaps, for his novels about the Reconstruction period. Another beaming ghost would be Justice John Marshall Harlan whose great dissents in this and the Civil Rights Cases have at long last been fully vindicated.

Not every ghost smiled we may be sure. Glum and dour must have been the ghost of the late Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, but in this case, happily, there was compensation. For only a week or so before the Supreme Court's decision a life-size bronze statue of the Senator was unveiled in the Mississippi Capitol. "His imperfections were infinitesimal," said Mississippi's Secretary of State in unveiling the statue, "when compared to the magnitude of his contributions to mankind."

"IF one race is inferior to the other socially," the majority had said in the Plessy case, "the Constitution of the United States cannot put them on the same plane." On this assumption the "separate but equal" doctrine was based, and on this doctrine in turn was erected the whole structure of legalized or institutionalized Jim Crow discrimination that came into being in the late 1890's. With profound insight Justice Harlan, alone among his colleagues, recognized the fallacy and foresaw clearly the long chain of evil consequences. The effect of the decision, as he pointed out, was "to permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law." When his colleagues argued that any "commingling" of the races meant bloodshed and violence, he replied: "If evils will result from the commingling of the two races upon public highways established for the benefit of all, they will be infinitely less than those that will surely come from state legislation regulating the enjoyment of civil rights upon the basis of race." To this prophetic warning he subjoined the memorable rescript: "The sure guaranty of the peace and security of each race is the clear, distinct, unconditional recognition by our governments, national and state, of every right that inheres in civic freedom, and of the equality before the law of all citizens of the United States without regard to race." The Constitution, he reminded his colleagues and us, "is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens."

What the Supreme Court has now done, of course, is to substitute Justice Harlan's great dissent for the majority opinion as the law of the land. In the sixty-odd years that have intervened, the Supreme Court, in Mr. Dooley's famous phrase, followed the election returns in clinging tenaciously to the precedent of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*. That the court still follows the election returns is further illustrated by its most recent decision; what is not so apparent is that the court also follows, as most courts must do sooner or later, the census returns. Underlying the decision to overrule the "separate but equal" doctrine is a recognition of the legal and constitutional meaning of the following social facts: the gradual re-

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distribution of the Negro minority both nationally and within the Southern states; the growth of educational facilities nationally and regionally; the number of white-faced Herefords now grazing on Southern acres once devoted to cotton; the remarkable shift of cotton production to the Southwest and California and its rapid mechanization; the industrialization and urbanization of the South; the increased mobility of population that has come with a revolution in transportation; the stabilization of agricultural prices, including that of cotton; the spread of rural electrification and soil conservation, and the impact of the T. V. A.—in short, the facts to which *The Nation* called attention in its special issue on The Southern Negro published in September, 1952. Social facts can be blinked for a time, but they are more difficult to ignore than fallacious social theories and more persuasive, with courts at any rate, than moral sentiments.

Jubilation over the belated legal demise of Jim Crow in the public schools should not be permitted to obscure the fact that an enormous expenditure of energy and funds will be required to implement the court's decision. The timely recommendation of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that Congress set up a billion-dollar fund to help the South build new schools is an indication that the struggle for equal educational facilities has now shifted from the courts to the legislature. Then, too, means must be found to relieve the enormous social and economic pressures that hem Negroes in residential ghettoes before a significant degree of integration can take place in the schools, North or South. The magnitude of this problem was illustrated in Robert Gruenberg's piece in last week's *Nation* on the Trumbull Park housing disturbance in Chicago.

Nor should the loud ringing of bells drown out the reminder that the Constitution is creed-and-idea blind as well as color-blind. Justice Harlan's conception of "civic freedom" is just as relevant to other types of discrimination as to those based on racial or religious differences. Today no less than in 1896, to paraphrase his dictum, the sure guaranty of national peace and security is the clear, distinct, unconditional recognition by our governments, national and state, of every right that inheres in civic freedom without regard to race, religion, sex, national origin, or political belief. A constitutional democracy can safely tolerate the expression of authoritarian beliefs; what it cannot tolerate is suppression of the rights of any minority, including political dissenters. The Constitution does not say anything about "clear and present" any more than it says anything about "separate but equal." As defined in the Dennis case, "clear and present" has become, not a test to safeguard freedom of speech as Holmes and Brandeis intended, but a severe limitation on that right.

Nor should we delude ourselves with the pleasant assumption that with one Supreme Court decision the United States can overcome a fairly widespread reputation for racial arrogance. Rather, the reception which has been accorded the court's decision should be taken as a guide to policy. For it demonstrates once again the measure of unity and confidence and pride that can be aroused whenever unqualified expression is given to the individual and social values to be found in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Fortunately we continue to redeem, often after costly delays and protestations, the promises to which we are committed by history and tradition and, we can now add, by current conviction. Alexander Meiklejohn has observed that "there has come over us, in recent years, a vivid sense of having been disloyal to our own purposes. In many ways we are obsessed by the fear of having betrayed ourselves." The way to exorcise this fear, which has enfeebled and humiliated the nation, is to give expression to the values we say we respect. This the Supreme Court has done, and in doing so has won nearly universal admiration.

ON the meaning, impact, and likely consequences of the Supreme Court's decision, we have invited the statements that follow. Readers may find it interesting, also, to turn back to Bernard Crick's piece in our issue of October 31, 1953: The South's Eve of Decision.

Evasions Barred

BY LOUIS L. REDDING

Wilmington, Delaware

ENGRAVED on the high, white entablature of the Supreme Court are the words "Equal Justice Under Law." A picture printed on the front pages of many newspapers last week showed lawyers standing on the marble steps of the courthouse beneath these words, smiling in restrained jubilation. They had just heard the Chief Justice read two decisions, backed by the authority of a solidly united court, invalidating the public-school segregation which their clients had challenged.

Their rejoicing, so long deferred, does not obscure the travail which will ensue before the court's rejection of separate, inferior status for Negro children is reflected in all the schoolrooms of the nation. For the court's pronouncement is not self-executing. The decisions judiciously provide a delay until fall, when the four litigant states, Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware, along with the District of Columbia, are requested to present plans and procedures upon which implementation of the court's ruling may be based. Other states which require or permit segregation in public education are invited by the court to appear at reargument as *amici curiae*. This invitation is of broad significance inasmuch as but three of the seventeen states which require segregation and only one of four states which permit it are parties before the court. Such states as accept the court's invitation to come in as *amici curiae* would stand in poor grace before the bench should they disregard the decisional law they helped implement and at some sub-

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sequent date must therefore return as litigants. In part this may explain Governor Talmadge's pungent remark that Georgia will not grasp the knife "that they use to cut off our heads," and the efforts of his Attorney General to rally the Southern states to boycott the reargument. Participation in implementation of the ruling would connote at the least *pro forma* indorsement.

The uncomplicated directness with which the two opinions are addressed to the central issue of the power of government to use race as a basis of classification in public education leaves no room for misunderstanding or quibble. Crafty evasive devices would be as offensive to such clear judicial will as clamorous defiance, and hardly less discernible. Gerrymandering, pacts with a few guileless or prideless Negroes in a design to bind their non-consenting brothers to continue educating their children as pariahs; conveyance of public property to private persons to operate a separate white or Negro school, with or without state subsidy; calling out the police or deputized posses to enforce segregation —all are patently repugnant.

The economic disabilities of the South affect all the public services it affords and would not excuse any protracted continuance of separate educational facilities now declared "inherently unequal." As the Delaware Chancellor, the only lower court to order the immediate admittance of Negro children to schools which a state constitution ordained exclusively for whites, courageously ruled, "to postpone relief is to deny relief" for the present Negro school population. Relief, as the highest court now declares, means de-segregation.

Obviously, reasonable time for explainable administrative readjustments, undertaken in good faith must be allowed. Transition, however, need not take years. The concerted wisdom of the court and the states affected can devise decrees which will suitably and promptly effectuate the law without exacerbating enforcement litigation.

Very probably the Southern states, by and large, will react as maturely functioning and worthy constituents of the national union. Enormous encouragement is given this belief by avowals of acceptance of the court's opinion from such leaders as Governor Shivers of Texas and Senator Long of Louisiana. Rotary Club members at their luncheon in Savannah rose to applaud the announcement of this decision. Their demonstration, along with other such "straws in the wind," makes it very doubtful that the Talmadge nullification program can succeed in thwarting the national law.

The court's decision justifies faith in our country in bitter, restive times.

[*Louis L. Redding, member of the N. A. A. C. P. Legal Committee, represented the plaintiffs in the Delaware case, one of those involved in the Supreme Court decision.*]

Coming in "The Nation"

Henry Lee Moon, author of "Balance of Power: The Negro Vote," will report next week from Atlanta, Georgia, on a regional conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to consider the Supreme Court decision.

In an early issue Dr. Frederic Wertham, psychiatrist and author of "Seduction of the Innocent," who testified as an expert in one of the cases, will explain his testimony and discuss segregation in the New York City schools, where, for psychological reasons, he believes it to be more detrimental than in the South.

Varied Patterns

BY HARRY S. ASHMORE

Little Rock, Arkansas

ALL told the South's reaction to the Supreme Court decision against segregation in education has been calm. Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia responded with predictable violence. But he stood alone among Southern governors. The Jackson, Mississippi, *Daily News* spoke of blood-stained Southern soil and roared defiance of the court. But other major Southern newspapers generally counseled caution and accepted the new dispensation as something that must be lived with.

This is not to say that the white South likes the decision. It does not. But it is clear that for the most part Southerners may be expected to undertake calmly and rationally to work out the tremendous social adjustments that ultimate integration of the public schools will require.

There will be great variety in the form of Southern compliance. In communities where Negroes are heavily concentrated —it is worthy of note that less than 10 per cent of Southern counties now have a population more than 50 per cent Negro—legal segregation is strongly buttressed by tradition and custom. There the pattern may be expected to stand for many years, even though the sanction of law has been withdrawn. In communities where the concentration of Negroes is light—in some 40 per cent of Southern counties Negroes form less than 10 per cent of the population—the transition to integrated schools may very well begin immediately, for state segregation statutes have been invalidated by the Supreme Court.

The practical problem for most Southern communities is to hammer out an acceptable compromise somewhere between the polar positions of the Southern white, who does not yet accept the Negro as his equal, and the Southern Negro, who is no longer willing to accept anything less. This is the reality of the situation, and it is so recognized by both white and Negro leaders. There is, I think, encouragement in this, for it is always easier to deal with a concrete problem than with a moral abstraction.

In Jonathan Daniels's telling phrase, the white and Negro people of the South once again have urgent business together. I am confident they will be able to transact it with good heart and good will.

[*Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of the* Arkansas Gazette, *is the author of "The Negro and the Schools," reviewed by Floyd Hunter on page 467 of this issue.*]

Unanimous Voice

BY OLIVER HILL

Richmond, Virginia

IN MY opinion the unanimity of the decision was the most marvelous thing that could have happened for the South. The fact that not a single justice dissented will unquestionably impress sober-minded citizens with the necessity of reappraising their racial views. De-

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spite the bombastic outbursts of some of our reactionary politicians, the overwhelming majority of people in the South and particularly in Virginia are fair-minded and law-abiding.

The decision will of course cause a change in the habits of a large number of people. Irrespective of the racial issue, this will naturally create readjustment problems. The decision presents to those who believe in the rights of the individual as guaranteed by the Constitution the long-awaited instrument with which to effect the changes necessary in the customs and practices of the South to bring it in line with the American democratic ideal. Now that public officials have been convinced that there is no longer any legal basis for resisting such changes, we have no doubt that all interested parties will work to make the necessary readjustment in an amicable fashion. It will not be long before the South's white citizens realize that this decision will also enhance their personal liberties, just as the Emancipation Proclamation freed the poor white man by giving dignity to labor.

[*Oliver Hill is a member of the legal committee of the N. A. A. C. P. and chairman of the organization's Virginia State Conference.*]

Alabama Ready

BY ARTHUR D. SHORES

Birmingham, Alabama

THE court's decision was not unexpected, despite the expressions of shock from politicians and some newspapers. It is my opinion that a majority of the people of Alabama and the South are ready for abolition of segregation not only in the public-school system but in every walk of life. However, the immediate course of the state is in the hands of its politicians and will depend on the caliber of men at the helm. We do not believe that there will be open defiance of the court's ruling, but we do expect legal maneuvers to sidestep it. Action will be necessary in Alabama to open the white schools to Negroes, but once open, we expect no serious incident.

[*Arthur D. Shores is president of the Alabama Progressive Democratic Association.*]

PERIPHERAL SECURITY

A New U.S. Policy? . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

United Nations

THE situation at Geneva has been deteriorating swiftly despite Foreign Secretary Eden's unceasing efforts in the role of middleman. Over the week-end the positions of the interested parties remained as far apart as ever. In this connection it is useful to summarize the proposals which have so far been advanced by the French, the Vietminh, and Vietnam.

The French. Paris has been asking for an immediate armistice, a withdrawal of Vietminh forces from Laos and Cambodia, and a de facto partition of Vietnam with international supervision of military arrangements. Under this plan negotiations for a political settlement would begin only after the armistice had come into effect.

The Vietminh. Ho Chi-minh's representatives demand that a political settlement be reached before any armistice is declared. Some temporary military partition is implied in their plan, but the emphasis is placed upon a unified Vietnam after general elections are held. Elections would also be held in Laos and Cambodia. French troops would be concentrated at a few points until the elections, at which time they would be withdrawn altogether.

Vietnam. The Bao Dai representatives also stress territorial unification, but only after an intervening period during which the United Nations would be charged with creating the conditions necessary for "fair" elections.

An analysis of the three proposals discloses certain areas of agreement and explains why Mr. Eden has not yet given up hope of a compromise. All international conferences pass through moments of optimism, dismay, renewed hope, and exasperation. As the Berlin conference drew to a close, it was difficult to find anyone who believed that something might come of it. Yet it was at Berlin that the Geneva talks were projected. Perhaps it is because Mr. Eden recalls that whatever agreement Berlin achieved was reached at secret sessions that he is today insisting on prolonging the secret sessions at Geneva.

European humorists are wont to say that Secretary Dulles need only pronounce the word "unity" to disperse everybody. But the last great shock suffered at Geneva was delivered not by Mr. Dulles but by President Eisenhower. At a press conference on May 19 the President let it be known that the United States was thinking of proceeding with its military plans for Southeast Asia with or without the participation of Great Britain. The fact that the President allowed himself to be quoted added to the distress of the British. His statement seemed to confirm rumors circulating in diplomatic circles that the Pentagon was acting on the assumption that there would be a war. The visit of high Pentagon officials to Korea, Japan, and Formosa, as well as Senator Knowland's renewed agitation for "strong" measures in Asia, have injected grave doubts into the minds of those who heretofore considered the American attitude a bluff or at best a belated attempt to strengthen the West's bargaining position at Geneva. Washington's determination to go ahead with a military alliance in Southeast Asia even if some of its Allies refuse to join is reflected in the following phrase from the President's text: "It might be possible to create an alliance that, while not so

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broad as one might like, nevertheless could be workable."

The following day New Zealand's Minister for External Affairs, passing through Washington, declared that he could not conceive of a "satisfactory alliance" that did not include Great Britain.

Compelled to renounce the idea of a broad assembly of powers for the purpose, first, of "containing" the Communist advance in Southeast Asia and, secondly—and more importantly—of laying the basis for an ultimate assault on the Chinese mainland, Washington is now engaged on a much more modest program. This is the establishment of a "security system" around the rim of Southeast Asia which would mark the limits of Communist expansion. Constant pressure is being exerted on London to participate in such a program. The British are confronted with unpleasant alternatives: either America will intervene unilaterally in Indo-China, which would mean the permanent break-up of the Anglo-American partnership, or America will not intervene and Britain will be blamed for the consequences. The pressure on the British will increase in the measure that things go badly at Geneva. Indeed, the most immediate and pressing danger is that a deliberate attempt will be made to sabotage Geneva in the hope that failure there would finally swing the British to the American side. The dark picture of Geneva now appearing in the American press and radio serves this purpose admirably.

Despite everything that has happened in the last eight years, there are fanatics of the "policy of strength" who will not admit that Asia's destiny cannot be shaped in accordance with the wishes of the Western capitals. Therein lies the root of the present disagreement with India. Had Western policy been both realistic and united, Nehru's six-point peace plan for Indo-China would have been seized upon quickly as an acceptable basis for discussion. In Washington the plan was turned down quickly by Secretary Dulles. But in London the *Times* said: "Mr. Nehru's plan . . . deserves examination at Geneva." The Indian Prime Minister's proposal was advanced before the Geneva talks began. This week interest in it was revived with the arrival in Geneva of V. K. Krishna Menon as Mr. Nehru's special envoy.

The basic difference between the United States and Britain on Southeast Asian policy is that British common sense rejects as inconceivable any attempt to defend Asia without the participation of Asians. While the situation is becoming graver from hour to hour, it is not yet beyond repair. What is needed is for the British to persist in their conciliatory efforts and for Messrs. Molotov and Chou En-lai to realize that the split among the Allies is not in itself a dependable guaranty that war will not break out.

If reason could be relied on to prevail over madness, half the wars in history would never have occurred.

PACT AMONG EQUALS

The Way to Asian Peace . . *by W. Macmahon Ball*

Melbourne, Australia

MR. DULLES has succeeded in impressing America's friends with the need for united action, but opinion is divided on whether the first need is to unite to resist communism or to restrain Mr. Dulles.

In so far as the Western powers rely on the threat, or use, of military force to fight Asian communism, they have a choice of three policies. They can try to deter fresh Communist advances by warnings that instantaneous massive retaliation will follow. This policy has disadvantages. To precipitate a general war would seem an excessive reaction to a local Communist success. If massive retaliation is merely a policy that Western leaders are foolish enough to threaten but sensible enough not to carry out, it loses its deterrent power. When Mr. Dulles recently warned that Chinese support of the Vietminh was coming terribly close to the point where it might provoke massive retaliation, he seemed to frighten everybody except the Chinese. In any case it is naive to expect that a Western victory in a general war would destroy communism in Russia or China, or anywhere else. During the last few years many Americans have been trying hard to persuade Asians that communism is a greater evil than war. It has been a hard task. But war and communism may not be alternatives. No one can foretell the social and political consequences of a third world war, and it is far from certain that a Western victory would make Asia safe for democracy. It seems more than possible that the Asians who survived would embrace communism with a new passion, if only because it was the antithesis of the Western creed. If the West wants to destroy communism with military force, it must not only win another world war; it must be prepared afterward for a permanent military occupation of the lands stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific.

The second course open to the West is to limit its military intervention and military aid to those areas where it feels Communist expansion should and can be successfully resisted. This has been Western policy in Korea, Formosa, and Indo-China. Yet it is not quite satisfactory, for various reasons. Despite their control of the neighboring seas, their supremacy in the air, and the superiority of nearly all their weapons, Western forces have not been able to achieve their objectives in either Korea

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or Indo-China. Both have been extremely expensive campaigns, and it was inevitable that America and France, the nations that have carried nearly the whole burden, should want to disengage their forces from these ordeals of endless attrition. Hence the strong demand in Washington to get others to take over a bigger share of the burden, and if possible to get Asians themselves to do most of the fighting when fighting is necessary to resist Communist expansion. This is the third policy, the policy behind the call for united action and a Pacific pact.

THE nub of the problem is how to win strong and reliable Asian friends. The West will not win friends by pouring arms or dollars into Asian countries unless the countries receiving them feel that they can use them to promote and protect their own national interests and not only the interests of the West. If the Western powers are to achieve a united front with the non-Communist Asian countries, there must first be a drastic reexamination and redefinition of Western objectives.

The first thing to be clear about is whether the American objective is to contain or to destroy communism in East Asia. Even in the last few weeks some eminent Americans have been declaring that their country's policy is to maintain a continuous military threat against the Peking government, and to help and encourage anti-Communist East Asian governments to put this threat into effect whenever and wherever the opportunity offers. If that is America's official policy, it is useless for it to try to win friends in Asia, except in official circles in Formosa and South Korea. If it is not its official policy, it would be a great help to have the Administration make this clear. Otherwise negotiated settlements with China seem hardly possible. For a negotiated settlement would mean that both sides would be prepared to accept something less than they had previously hoped to get by fighting. Neither side will be prepared to make concessions to the other which it feels directly endanger its own security. But whether a particular concession spells this sort of danger depends on what the other side plans to do with it. China's readiness to respect the security of Western-supported states in South Korea and Indo-China would presumably largely depend on how the West proposes to use such footholds on the mainland. Would the West regard these states as barriers to contain communism or as bridgeheads from which to try to destroy it? This is the crucial question.

Any defense pact for East Asia is likely to do more harm than good unless it includes the more independent nations, like India and Indonesia, and, if possible, all five of the countries whose prime ministers were recently in conference at Colombo. It is easy to brush aside the Colombo meeting as the pointless chatter of statesmen unable or unwilling to play any effective part in the world conflict. These five countries of Southeast Asia have, in truth, not much military weight to throw about at present. India and Pakistan will hardly want to contribute military forces to the Far East until tensions nearer home are eased. Ceylon has scarcely any military establishment of its own. Indonesia and Burma are still too unsettled at home to be able to send forces abroad. Yet when the prime ministers at Colombo insisted that the fate of Asia must be decided by Asians they spoke not only for their own countries but for those other Asian nations which at present feel it impolitic to speak so boldly.

To include the Associated States of Indo-China, Siam, and the Philippines in a defense pact will not make it any more Asian, since these states depend so heavily on Western support. Any Asian state that depends on the West for its economic or political survival is regarded by politically conscious Asians as an ugly relic of the past.

IF A security system in the Pacific is to win the loyal membership of independent Asian countries, it must satisfy two conditions. It must be designed to resist not only Communist aggression but any aggression, from whatever source. And the decision whether aggression has occurred must not be left to any one party to the pact, however powerful, or to a body in which Western states or Western-supported states have a majority. The vital decisions must be made jointly by East and West.

Asians have good reasons for their reluctance to join a purely anti-Communist pact. They do not want to be lined up against China simply because China is Communist. They do not want to be lined up with right dictatorships, like those in Formosa and South Korea, for they regard these regimes as Western puppets. They do not share the acute Western fear of communism in Asia. They believe there are three powerful political movements in all Asia today. The first is for national independence, the second is for social reform, and the third is for freedom from Western control of Asia's destiny. They believe that Communists are only formidable when the West tries to frustrate these movements. To some Westerners there are only two kinds of Asians—the Communists and the anti-Communists. To Asians the differences between Japanese and Chinese and Indians are more important than the differences between most Western nations. They do not want everything that is rich and distinct and various in Asia to be blotted out by assimilation to the Western or to the Communist bloc.

Courtesy St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

The Bait and the Trap

The independent Asian nations are unlikely to join any "collective security" system for East Asia in which decisions might be taken by a non-Asian majority. Perhaps nothing has so discredited the United Nations in Asian eyes as the methods by which America got it to declare China an aggressor in Korea. This may have seemed good sense in Washington, and a victory for moral principles, but it sounded like rubbish in New Delhi, Jakarta, and Tokyo.

Some of the new nations of Asia have spent a lot of effort to insure that

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their conduct will no longer be decided in London or Paris or The Hague. Today they do not want it to be decided in either Moscow or Washington. Their attitude is unlikely to be changed by harangues or monetary inducements or threats.

In a word, any worth-while defense pact for East Asia must be based on a free and equal partnership between the independent Asian nations and the West. This means, in practice, that the Indian view must be given as much weight as the American view, the Indonesian view as the Australian view. That is a hard saying, but until the West accepts it, it will search in vain for loyal Asian allies.

We Australians are deeply involved in these issues. If other Western nations feel that Asia is too much for them, they can at the last withdraw, with as good grace as they can muster. But Australia can never withdraw. And despite our real desire to be friends with our northern neighbors, we still look mainly to Britain and America for comfort in this dangerous world. When Britain and America take different lines about Asia, which seems to have happened in the last weeks, Australian opinion tends to become troubled and confused. Some of us are immensely relieved that we have made no new commitments to Mr. Dulles, and concerned lest the commitments we have already accepted in the ANZUS pact may implicate us in some unilateral decision. Others of us are anxious because Britain may be rather nonchalant about dangers in the Pacific of which America is more acutely aware. It will be some time before we all realize that while in the past we belonged to the West, in the future we belong to Asia.

THE PETROV CASE

Espionage or Politics? . . *by F. E. Emery*

Melbourne, Australia

ON THE evening of Tuesday, April 13, the Australian Prime Minister, R. G. Menzies, announced to a crowded and expectant Parliament that Vladimir Petrov, third secretary of the Soviet embassy at Canberra, had sought and been granted political sanctuary. Petrov, he said, had brought with him a mass of documents that revealed the existence of widespread Soviet espionage in Australia, with contacts in many high government offices.

The impact of this announcement was immediate and dramatic. Press and radio alike treated it, as had Mr. Menzies, as a matter of the greatest national importance. In this atmosphere the Menzies government proposed a royal commission with what the local newspapers called "dragnet" functions. The commission would inquire into possible espionage activities by any Soviet "agent or representative," not only those ascribed to Mr. Petrov, and determine whether any "individuals or organizations" in Australia had abetted espionage or "related activities."

The bill was passed by both houses without debate in a few hours. The next day Parliament dissolved to campaign for an election that had been previously set for May 29.

Though the government announcement was met with massive favorable publicity and speculation, several notes of caution crept into the correspondence columns of the more serious newspapers. Thus it was asked: Why did this incident occur at such a propitious moment for the Liberal government? To judge from recent by-elections and the reports of public-opinion polls, the Liberals had a very good chance of being thrown out of office at the coming elections—unless something dramatic occurred. The affair of Mr. Petrov is just such an event, and there is general agreement that it enhances the election prospects of Mr. Menzies' party.

However, the Prime Minister apologized to the parliamentary opposition for the timeliness of the affair, and it seems true that while Petrov had been in contact with the Security Service for some time he had not been in their hands until April 3. The ten days that elapsed before Mr. Menzies' announcement may have been the minimum time necessary for an examination of the documents Petrov is alleged to have brought with him. It may be, then, that the closeness of the two dates was mere coincidence.

More important is the other question that has been raised: Why was it necessary to appoint a royal commission if the facts of espionage are known? To this no satisfactory answer has been given by the government for the simple reason that it cannot afford to admit the obvious—that there are no such facts. If there were, it would have been the duty of the government to apprehend, and charge in an ordinary court of law, the persons implicated.

A satisfactory answer would have to admit that there are no known "facts of espionage" but only a suspicion of subversion. Indeed, the government has had to admit that the suspected espionage does not concern Australia's "defense secrets" but only matters of a "political nature." However, this would not exclude prosecution of the persons concerned if there were facts, not suspicions. As was pointed out by a correspondent to the Melbourne *Age*, "The Crimes Act and common law are powerful enough to allow prosecution of any person who may have given even such information as appears in the daily press to such a person with the intention of assisting Russia." Further, even if there were suspicions of espionage rather than of subversion, these would be matters for counter-intelligence to follow up until the culprits could be landed in court. Certainly the experienced heads

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of the Joint Intelligence Board, the Armed Services, and the Commonwealth Security Service would not countenance a much-heralded and publicly operating royal commission that would certainly warn their quarry to lie low and mask their spoor. Similarly, if the government possessed *facts* related to subversive acts committed by individuals or groups, it would charge them in a court.

It can only be concluded that the royal commission is intended to focus public attention and public disapproval, with its attendant penalties, on persons and groups who are regarded by the Liberal Party and its sponsors as subversive and traitorous but who are not so defined by law.

The leader of the Labor Party, Dr. H. V. Evatt, although initially taken on the hip by Mr. Menzies, has come back with a public statement drawing attention to the danger of the royal commission being used for "the totalitarian technique of smear and slander." A much clearer appraisal of the nature of the commission has come, unexpectedly, from the Supreme Court judges of Victoria, who refused to release any of their number to serve on it on the grounds that "except in a matter of national importance arising in time of national emergency it is undesirable that any such judge [of Supreme Court status] should accept nomination as a royal commission" and that "if they are to retain the confidence of the people" they must be guarded from "the danger of being drawn into the region of political controversy."

CLEARLY the significance of the Petrov affair lies largely in the new assault on civil liberties that is threatened. Our local McCarthyites have moved one step forward from witch-hunting among minor government employees to spy-hunting, and to quote Norman Redlich, writing in *The Nation* of January 30, "Spy-hunting is obviously a more potent *political* weapon than witch-hunting" (my italics). In its powers and method of operation a royal commission is the nearest parallel we have to a United States Senate committee. The Canadian commission set up on the Gouzenko affair is an obvious precedent and as such has not been overlooked by the press or, one imagines, by the Liberal government.

Lastly, the affair of Mrs. Petrov has not been considered in this context because it involves different issues. Although the path for it was prepared by the defection of Mr. Petrov and the attendant publicity, this is as far as the connection goes. Mrs. Petrov is most unlikely to become a star witness—her usefulness to the Liberal government probably ceased when the Russians were forced to break off diplomatic relations and withdraw their embassy. She provided a heaven-sent opportunity for the Liberals to break off a diplomatic tie that they had opposed when it was established by the war-time Labor government and that they had made a mockery of as soon as they took office in 1950 by placing the Australian embassy in Moscow in charge of a junior official.

KNIGHT OVER CALIFORNIA

Will He Succeed Himself? . . *by Stanley P. Isaacs*

ON MARCH 29 *Life* magazine unfurled a handsome seven-page spread on California's Republican Governor Goodwin J. ("Goodie") Knight. On its front cover it featured him as California's "frisky, forceful new governor," and then went on to chronicle the life story of this "jolly speaker, mugger, wisecracker—and ever-growing power in his state." It was a big build-up for the man who is trying to capture both the Republican and the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in the June 8 primaries.

The *Life* article, which did not mention his Democratic opponent, Richard Graves, by name, is one of a long line of events that have favored Goodie Knight's political career. That career has come a long way from the dark post-election morning in November, 1948, when the unsuccessful vice-presidential candidate, Earl Warren, came back to his Governor's duties and Lieutenant Governor Knight had to give up his brief occupancy of the seat he felt he was beginning to fit so well. Five years later, when Warren was lifted to the Supreme Court, Knight was again installed in the governor's chair, and the general feeling is that he has campaigned unceasingly since then to get the two nominations.

The chances are that he will not land the Democratic indorsement, but few persons would want to bet against the Governor on Election Day. He will have, among other advantages, the services of Whitaker and Baxter, the California public-relations firm, who have handled more than sixty political campaigns in the state and won all but five for their clients.

Knight today is considered the leader of the most reactionary wing of the California Republican Party, the group once dominated by ex-Governor Frank Merriam. The several factions, reading not-so-left to right, may be described as the old Warren-Knowland group, headed by the senior Senator since Warren moved out of politics; the Young Turks, headed by the ambitious young man from Whittier, Vice-President Richard Nixon; and the Knight men. The first group, as the dispenser of patronage since Warren took office in 1942, was long dominant, but now that Nixon has become the bright light of the party, the seat of power has to some extent shifted. Recently the Knight and Nixon groups have come closer together. When Knight last fall announced his

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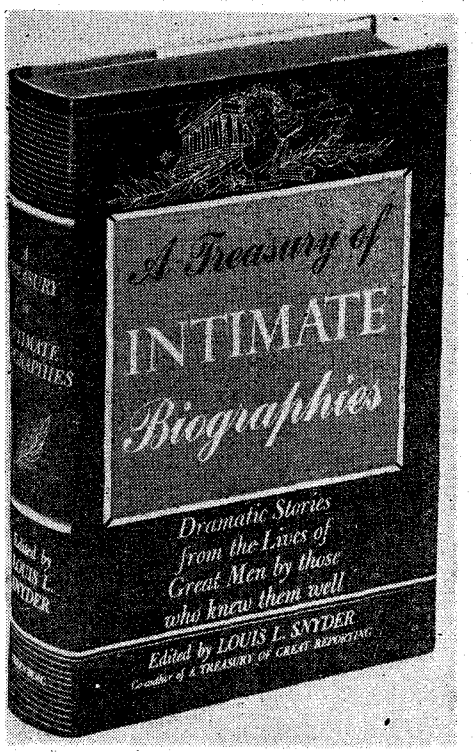

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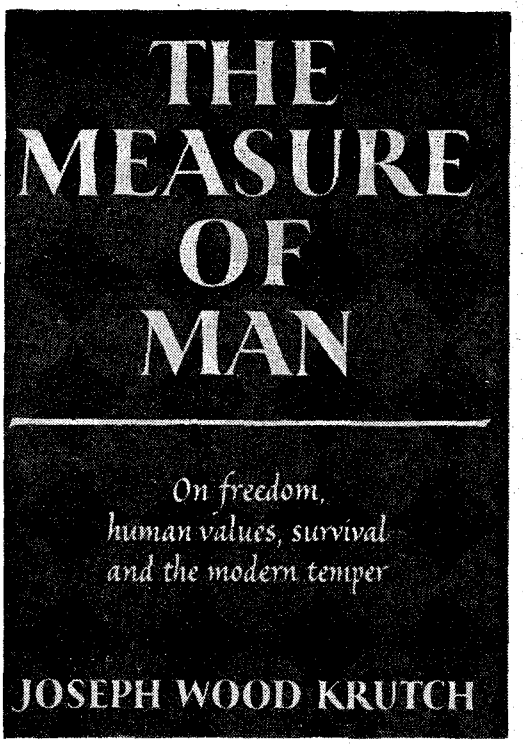
THE *Nation's* CHOICE

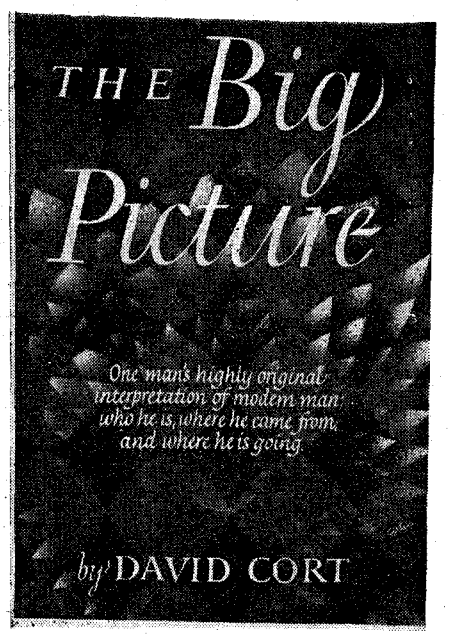
NUMBER 4

JUST WHERE does man think he's going? For most of us, life is too pressing to take the time out to think about such matters. That's why The Nation's Choice editors seized so eagerly, for their No. 4 selections, on the current works of Joseph Wood Krutch and David Cort. Here are a pair of tough-minded gentlemen who *have* seen the need and *have* taken the time to assess a fundamental problem: man and his place in a world growing increasingly mechanistic. What are their answers? Whether you agree or disagree with their answers you'll find both books provocative and stimulating.

Mr. Krutch, a frequent contributor to The Nation, has been one of the first-rank American men-of-letters for more than a quarter of a century. One of his earlier books, The Modern Temper, has already become a contemporary classic. Mr. Cort, for many years foreign editor of *Life*, is one of those brilliant writers who makes a friend—or an enemy—with each sentence he pens.

Both books are worth their weight in intellectual gold; they're a bargain at their original price (combined) of $7.00—a virtual steal at the special Nation's Choice price of only $4.75 for the two.




THE Big Picture
One man's highly original interpretation of modern man: who he is, where he came from, and where he is going
by DAVID CORT

THE MEASURE OF MAN
by Joseph Wood Krutch

"Telling strictures against the stupidities of a widely prevalent deterministic orthodoxy in modern culture."
Reinhold Niebuhr in the New York Times.

"A valuable and heartening document . . . an acute and comprehending mind expressing itself with beautiful clarity."
St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

"A (publication) of intellectual and social importance."
Louisville Courier-Journal.

Mr. Krutch says of his book: "Modern thought has imprisoned man in a cage whose bars are materialism, mechanism and determinism. This book . . . attempts to meet head-on the whole dismal complex of arguments and theories which attempt to prove that man is a machine and must be only what circumstances make him. It says 'no' to those who would persuade us that we are less than we are."

THE BIG PICTURE
by David Cort

"The publishers do not exaggerate when they call this a 'highly original' book about man and his place in the universe. It is all that and more. It is also a brilliant, exhibitionistic, sparkling, irritating erudite and stimulating look at homo sapiens by one of the brightest young pundits to heave into sight in years."
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Newsweek.

"Mr. Cort analyzes love, marriage, the psychology of corporation hierarchy, the emotions of prehistoric man and many other topics that swarm into his fertile mind. Even the specialist must admit that what Mr. Cort 'really knows' is very much worth knowing."
E. B. Garside in the New York Times.

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decision to run for a full term, Nixon was quick to indorse it. When Warren moved into the Supreme Court, he hinted that a change of party at Sacramento might be a good thing.

The split between Warren and Knight began when Warren came home in 1948 and Knight, still flushed with his short spell as acting Governor, announced he would run against him in 1950. But in 1950, when Jimmy Roosevelt entered the race as the Democratic candidate, Knight stepped aside, vowing he would run in 1954 no matter what happened. Then Warren became Chief Justice and moved out of the picture.

Governor Knight

KNIGHT, a husky, exuberant man of fifty-eight—"with my luck, who needs brains?"—was born in Provo, Utah, the son of a lawyer. His parents moved to Los Angeles when he was eight. He served for a year aboard a coastal submarine chaser during the First World War and afterward worked as a $9-a-week grocery clerk to get the money to study law at Stanford University. There he waited on table, managed the college yearbook, and got a broken nose as a second stringer on the football team. He finished his studies at Cornell and then settled down to a successful law practice in Los Angeles.

In 1932 he bought the Elephant Eagle gold mines in the Mojave Desert with a $1,500 down-payment on $50,000 worth of property. In the next nine years he took two million dollars from the mine. Today he is a wealthy man.

He made his first bid for attention with a rousing keynoter speech at the 1932 Republican State Convention, attacking the campaign of Upton Sinclair for the governorship. In 1935 Governor Frank Merriam deposited Knight on the Superior Court bench. There Knight continued in the news by virtue of being the man to whom such Hollywood figures as John Barrymore, Stan Laurel, and Barbara Stanwyck brought their marital woes. In the Mary Astor–George Kaufman case, in which the playwright could not be located for subpoena, Knight said, "If I ever find that man, I'll put him in jail. He could write a play about life in jail." Goodie became known as the "mender of broken hearts." Newspaper editors counted on him to perform sentimental three-in-the-morning weddings when they had nothing else to fill their feature pages with.

Knight was elected Lieutenant Governor in 1946 with the biggest plurality ever given a candidate for state office. After Warren's defeat in the 1948 national election the Merriam faction grew impatient with their patronage freeze-out, and Knight became more outspoken in his criticism of Warren. He refused to support the Governor's proposal for pre-paid health insurance and objected to his advocacy of a fair-employment-practices act and his position on the case of the California teachers who refused to take the Regents' oath that they were not Communists. Graves, a Warren supporter, is making an issue of the last two matters in the current campaign. Knight once called Warren "nothing but a New Dealer."

As one former associate has put it, "Knight started seeing reds under the bed early." His speeches are filled with politicians' clichés about Americanism, creeping socialism, and the Founding Fathers. In 1951, speaking before the Chico Kiwanis Club, he denounced Dean Acheson as an "American Neville Chamberlain" who "kotowed to communism and plotted the dismissal of General MacArthur." One reporter wrote in a pre-election survey of candidates, "Knight is not a Hoover Republican. He is a Garfield Republican."

Knight's views on specific issues have never been too easy to ascertain. The Santa Barbara *News-Press* headlined one of his recent speeches: "'Future Lies Ahead,' Governor Knight Tells Boys." As Governor he has not broken with Warren's policies but has tried to follow a middle course that would win Democratic support. To that end he raised minimum unemployment-insurance payments $5, to $30 a week, and commuted —under pressure—the death sentence of the Negro prisoner Wesley Wells.

The boost of unemployment insurance earned Goodie the indorsement of the A. F. of L.'s Labor League for Political Education, but this was neutralized somewhat by the refusal of a number of A. F. of L. unions to go along and their indorsement of Graves. Kyle Palmer, political editor of the pro-Knight Los Angeles *Times*, wrote that "the ultimate cynicism of the union indorsement is highlighted by the fact that Knight is fundamentally opposed to the official union on most if not all of the principal issues upon which a candidate's attitude is questioned." Grave's hopes have been raised further by the support of the C. I. O.

THE Graves forces, trying to pin the "reactionary" label on the Governor, point to three early acts: (1) He fired a capable Warren appointee, A. H. Henderson, state Director of Motor Vehicles. (2) He replaced another Warren appointee, James G. Bryant, state Director of Employment, with William A. Burkett, who had won favor by charging that $20,000,000 had been taken out of the state's unemployment-insurance funds during 1952. This caused a labor publication to remark, "He says he 'believes' in unemployment-insurance laws but has joined its enemies, who usually emphasize isolated instances of cheating." Knight also fired Bryant's chief deputy. (3) He appointed as state Director of Finance an official of the powerful Western Oil and Gas Association, John M. Pierce. The magazine *Frontier* commented dryly, "Don't expect Pierce to recommend any gasoline-tax increases."

Graves has attacked Knight's budget, asserting that it is $83,000,000 out of balance and that to help make this up Knight would "raid nearly $35,000,000 from funds set up under the Warren administration for reserves." Graves accuses Knight of failure to plan for a recession, failure to take a firm stand on civil liberties, and lack of a program to eliminate the terrible smog conditions in Los Angeles.

Knight, who rarely mentions Graves's name, says anybody who talks about

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smog is either a political opportunist or a moron. It is evident that he is relying on his good-time Charlie personality to capture any voters who might be wary of his legislative and executive aims. There is hardly a person in the state who has not seen or heard him in the past six years. In June, 1952, when he spoke to 150 people in Marklieville, he was the first state official to appear there in a hundred years. While campaigning in 1950 he finished a speech at a Republican banquet and then walked into a Democratic labor meeting a floor below and asked to speak a few words. The labor men were antagonistic but finally said all right. At the end of his talk Knight was given wild applause. In his first fifty-nine days as governor he made eighty-nine speeches. He's great at parades, too.

Graves has been described as a "Warren Democrat." He was executive director of the League of California Cities for twenty years. Originally a Democrat, he switched allegiance to help Warren, then switched back. A California Republican prominently identified with the Eisenhower Administration has said of him, "He is the kind of character who will make it hard for Republicans to vote against him. He is thoroughly experienced in state government and has shown a lot of ability in handling legislation."

The Graves forces deride the possibility that Knight might be able to capture both nominations. Such a feat was possible in the past because the California system permitted a candidate to file for nomination by more than one party. The law has been changed, however, and this year a candidate's party affiliation must be stated on the ballot. It is thought unlikely that the Republican Knight can win a majority in a Democratic primary.

In any case, Knight will be on his merry glad-handing, back-slapping way till November. He has always wanted to be Governor, now is Governor, and intends to remain Governor. "I have no other interests," he says, "no other task except politics. I've freed myself of all worries. I have a helluva bank balance, no stocks and bonds. I'm just trying to do my best in one field—politics."

DEFENSE MONOPOLY

Where the Contracts Go . . . *by Leland Traywick*

IN AMERICA depressions and wars have always provided a favorable climate for the growth of economic monopoly, but the development of corporate giants during World War II was greater than anyone had expected. In 1939 big firms—those employing 500 or more persons—constituted 1 per cent of all manufacturing firms in the United States and employed 48 per cent of the labor force. By 1944 such firms had become 2 per cent of the total number and employed 62 per cent of the labor force. Most of the new "big firms" were in war industries. Indeed, in every war industry except steel the giants—with 10,000 or more employees—increased greatly in relative importance. In manufacturing as a whole, the giants accounted for 13 per cent of total employment in 1939 and 31 per cent in 1944.

The concentration which took place during the war was due largely to the distribution of the lion's share of war contracts to a handful of firms. The nearly $200,000,000,000 of supply contracts became, too, the key to the control of productive resources during the war. Companies which were awarded prime contracts obtained thereby the instruments of economic power. They received, first of all, money, in the form of substantial profits for the production of goods whose sale was assured; second, they were granted priority for needed materials, parts, and components; third, they were permitted to say how much of these priorities should be passed down to subcontractors, who these subcontractors should be, and how much each should receive; fourth, they could generally expand their facilities under extremely favorable amortization and carry-back provisions in the tax laws; and, fifth, as prime contractors they operated most of the government-owned facilities and usually had options to buy the plants at the end of the war. Of $175,000,000,000 in prime contracts over one-half (51 per cent) went to thirty-three corporations. It is not surprising that big business flourished.

It may be argued that the concentration of defense contracts was not so great as it might seem, since many of these contracts were shared by big business with a host of little subcontractors. An analysis of subcontracting, however, shows that it was never as extensive as has been commonly assumed, and that most of the subcontracts, by value, were not awarded by big firms to smaller firms but rather to other large firms. It has been estimated that small companies accounted for some 30 per cent of total war production and at most obtained 22 per cent of prime contracts. Moreover, by becoming subcontractors many small firms lost their independent status. Since their market was the prime contractor, they had little need of a sales force; and since they usually obtained their supplies from the prime contractor, they were able to get along without a purchasing staff. Yet sales and purchasing staffs are generally requisites to survival in a competitive economy.

Since big concerns received the great bulk of both prime contracts and subcontracts they naturally obtained the major share of the nation's resources. Although materials were allocated by the War Production Board, their flow had to follow the pattern of production set by the contract awards. The result was that when war production began

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to decline and contracts to be curtailed, the prime contractors often "pulled in" subcontracts—and allotments of materials—and performed the work themselves.

THE extent of concentration in manufacturing during the post-war years was determined as much as by anything else by the way in which war-built production facilities were distributed. Manufacturing facilities in existence in 1939 had cost about $40,000,000,000 to build. To this capacity there was added by June, 1945, about $26,000,000,000 of new plant and equipment. Roughly two-thirds of this sum came directly from federal funds, the other third from private funds. The factory layouts, lighting, power installations, and other facilities were of the most modern design, high-quality and high-cost construction. The quality of the new equipment was even better than that of the plants. Moreover, it is estimated that some $20,000,000,000 of the $26,000,000,000 of war-time plant was usable for peace-time production either immediately or after only minor conversion. As a result, the manufacturing facilities of the 250 largest corporations in 1945 approximately equaled those of all corporations in 1939. It is therefore of great significance that in 1947 the industrial giants held 97 per cent of all basic iron and steel facilities, 89 per cent in shipbuilding, 78 per cent in aircraft, and 77 per cent in fabricated metal products. The government gave big business the plants, tools, resources, and a guaranteed market with which to fight World War II. Such a gift assured concentration of economic power during and after the war.

When the Marshall Plan was set up—the Economic Cooperation Administration—the American small business man again found himself at a considerable disadvantage because of his ignorance of the intricacies of import-export trade and his inability to pay foreign representatives. To help him, the E. C. A. set up a counseling service, a directory of European importers, and purchasing information bureaus. At the administrative level Mr. Hoffman attempted to aid in all possible ways. But complaints continued to come in that the program as it was working out definitely favored big business. Take coal purchases in the United States. An analysis of the abstracts showed that the bulk of both bituminous and anthracite tonnage was being furnished by one company—one of the largest coal companies in the country.

The concentration of economic power was intensified by the Korean conflict. Ten large manufacturing companies handled 30 per cent of the war-contract dollar volume in World War II and 40 per cent in the Korean war. Two-thirds of the war-contract dollar volume was handled by 100 companies in World War II and by 50 companies in the Korean war. The degree of this concentration was much less in the beginning than at the end of Korean hostilities. Clearly, military procurement devolved on fewer and fewer firms.

The Senate Small Business Committee found that in the Korean conflict as in World War II the prime contractors hoarded their contracts. They refused to subcontract unless their plants were operating at 100 per cent of capacity. Furthermore, it was discovered that subcontractors with their existing facilities could have handled the defense work which piled up on the big corporations while these giants waited for their new plants to be completed.

Congressional investigations yielded some startling facts—for example, about General Motors, which received more in

Secretary of Defense Wilson

contracts, in dollar volume, than any other corporation. On 98 items purchased through United Motors Service Division, the General Motors distributor, the government paid an excess of $339,926.88, which amounted to a profit to the corporation of 35.8 per cent. On items not purchased through United Motors Service Division the profit was 5.7 per cent. A former General Motors employee, H. R. Boyer, was responsible for a $68,000,000 order on 757 vertical turret lathes going to a G.M. subsidiary, Fisher Body Corporation, which bid $90,000 per lathe and was virtually given some 490 units of tooling machinery by the government to do the job. The Bullard Company of Bridgeport, Connecticut, bid $38,000 per lathe and had the experience and tools for the job—but did not get the order. Apparently it did not have the right man in the right place.

WHEN the president of General Motors became Secretary of Defense, machinery was set in motion to change the industrial plan for national defense. The former Joint Chiefs of Staff and General Marshall had a procurement plan resting on a broad industrial base. Its purpose was twofold: (1) to have many firms which could step up production suddenly in case of emergency and thus save the nation untold hours of new tooling up and building for defense; and (2) in these days of atomic bombs to avoid putting all our eggs in one or a few baskets. Mr. Wilson changed all this: production was concentrated in a few large firms. Post-Korean contracts have gone largely to G. M. and a few other giants despite the protests of Senator Kefauver and others.

Some years ago W. J. Ballinger, the economist, told the Temporary National Economic Commission:

> Lest the people learn the lesson of history, the dark powers of concentrated wealth choose in each new struggle a new name for themselves, avoiding the old names that carry the historic smell of tyranny. . . . In America we call the lesser rulers business leaders and corporation lawyers; the great ones are simply kings—oil kings, match kings, soap kings—hundreds of them. The great Overlord who will draw them all together into a perfect plutocratic dictatorship has not yet appeared. But there are portents in the heavens which betoken his opportunity.

Perhaps the man who directed the invasion of Normandy as part of Operation Overlord is the harbinger of the new era.

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BOOKS

Laying Plessy's Ghost

THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS. By Harry S. Ashmore. University of North Carolina Press. $2.75.

By Floyd Hunter

THE United States Supreme Court has now spoken for the vast majority of the American people. Harry Ashmore, in an extremely readable and informative book, tells us why the court could not do otherwise.

One Negro litigant after another, since 1896, has called up the ghost of a courageous, one-eighth-Negro man named Plessy from the tangled shroud of a Supreme Court case, *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*. In a side remark the court of 1896 told Plessy that the principle of segregation had sanction in a doctrine of "separate but equal" education. Living generations of Negro people have attempted vigorously ever since to lay the court's ghost once and, literally, for all. The deed is now accomplished, and Plessy is dead, dead, dead.

Editing the contributions of forty-five scholars, Ashmore builds a true story of the legal and social struggle of Negroes and whites who have believed either that the doctrine of separate and equal was a myth or that it should be denied and abolished. Perfectly timed, the book might well serve as a socio-economic or so-called Brandeis brief on the reargument which the Supreme Court will hear when it takes up the question of implementing its historic decision.

Spending only enough time to orient the reader, Ashmore opens the discussion with a summary of events before Plessy. We are caught up briefly in the turbulent years of Reconstruction. The carpet-baggers and scalawags are on stage; the Ku Klux Klan rides; the racially mixed legislatures arouse the hopes of Negroes everywhere; public education becomes a reality; basically opposed voices of men like Booker T. Washington and Henry Grady are raised above the tumult; and as suddenly as it all began, troops are withdrawn from the South and white supremacy reigns uneasily triumphant. Shocked and thoughtful, the Negro people begin to prepare for a long and steady assault on those laws and persons who would deny their legitimate claim of equality.

Forty years after the Plessy ruling—years of growing dissatisfaction on the part of those who violently disliked the verbal escape provided by court interpretations of separate and equal—a series of cases forced the logic of the Negro body politic upon the courts. The familiar Murray, Gaines, Sipuel, and Sweatt cases, building precedent upon precedent, opened the graduate schools of state universities to qualified Negro students. The violence and bloodshed predicted as an outcome of the various court decisions, as we now well know, never came off. School administrators "drug" their feet; hedges and dodges were used to meet expected adverse criticism that was never voiced. Graduate education in their own state became possible, by 1953, for Negroes in all states except Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

It was not, however, the courts alone that brought Negroes new opportunities for equal access to educational institutions. Profound changes have occurred during the last three decades in the distribution of the Negro population. World War I raised democratic slogans that made segregation an anachronism, and steadily rising costs of general education made the burden of a dual system more and more unbearable. The searching reexamination of social institutions during the depression years of the 1930's and the war years of the 1940's further prepared the nation for an earnest look at both the social and economic costs of educational segregation. The loss of prestige abroad has provided a cruel latter-day thrust to those who cling to illusions in this whole matter.

Striking at a sensitive and vulnerable spot in the pattern of segregation, the Negro people have demanded and now obtained the legal right to equal education at all school levels. Even the "disappointed" diehards of a handful of Southern states have found it increasingly difficult to question the fact that continued segregation practices would place an almost impossible financial burden on most state treasuries. Though the differential in cost between the two systems was narrowing—it was around 15 per cent in 1951-52—equalizing the facilities would require the South to increase expenditures two and one-half billions over the 1951-52 average. To do this it would have to continue to spend 3.3 per cent of its revenues on education, and its revenues would have to be drawn from an income base rising at the rate of 3.1 per cent a year. At the same time the general level of educational facilities for all children would be little improved.

The Supreme Court has cut through this dilemma by the clarity of its reasoning. The problem of many state leaders is that of finding ways to improve educational facilities on an integrated basis for all children. This can now be done without the troublesome question of equalizing facilities. There are still financial as well as social and political problems, but Ashmore contends that they can be met and that many of them have been. For those who will be watching to see how the South carries out the court's decision the background so succinctly provided in "The Negro and the Schools" will be invaluable.

The discussion is balanced and even-tempered, and such contributors as Philip Hammer, Harold Femming, Mozelle Hill, Guy Johnson, and many others have helped Ashmore make it so. The book is written for those who like their facts presented with restrained emotion but with the vitality of truth.

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Separate Means Unequal

On May 17 the United States Supreme Court held unanimously that racial segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional. "We conclude," it declared, "that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

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New Books in Brief

African Frontier

THE YEAR OF THE LION. By Gerald Hanley. Macmillan. $3.

Mounting racial tensions have put Africa into the headlines, a fact which has been reflected in many recent novels. In "The Year of the Lion," however, Gerald Hanley, a young Englishman with considerable African experience, has written a novel focused on the impact of cultures rather than the problem of race.

"The Year of the Lion" is set in East Africa during the '30's, when English "farmers" maintained a frontier, upsetting age-old patterns of African life and death in the process. European guns shattered nature's balance of hoof and claw; European techniques destroyed tribal law by work for wages; European social taboos seemed to block any effective replacement for the tribal structures which were ending. Slowly, however, the African's awe of guns and machines was giving way to curiosity and desire for knowledge, the twin beginnings of what may become a struggle for a continent.

Gerald Hanley anchors his narrative to a hunt for a man-killing lion. He writes well; his lean prose maintains tension through economy, at no time showing the purple patches so often evoked by Africa. Throughout "The Year of the Lion" plot and characterization are secondary. There is another story: a continent shaking itself, "falling back," perhaps to strike back, "before the new men and their machines."

Soldier in the White House

U. S. GRANT AND THE AMERICAN MILITARY TRADITION. By Bruce Catton. Little, Brown. $3.

This is the first volume of a new Library of American Biography edited by Oscar Handlin, the purpose of which is to tell the stories of leaders in all fields who in their personalities and achievements symbolized the great issues and movements of their times. The program is not without its hazards since the symbol may smother the man, but the way in which Bruce Catton has surmounted this danger augurs well for the success of the whole series. Written simply yet eloquently, this book brings Grant to life, making plain both the scope of his military achievement and his tragic failure as President.

Grant was an embodiment of the American military tradition. He was the boy who didn't want to be a soldier; he hated war; he expressed in his sloppy uniform the general American contempt for the trappings of the martial spirit. But when war came, Grant like the nation, rose superbly to its demands.

American generals who win wars are apt to have thrust upon them the very different task of winning the subsequent peace. That was Grant's fate, and, writes Mr. Catton, "nothing could have been more unfortunate, because such a role called on him to transcend the national character; and instead of transcending it he embodied it." As a soldier he was schooled in the democratic tradition of the supremacy of the civil power, and to him the civil power meant primarily Congress. When he became President he still saw himself as an administrative officer carrying out the will of the people as expressed by Congress. The consequence was that he provided "an enduring illustration of the fact that it can be risky to put a professional soldier in the White House, not because the man will try to use too much authority in that position but because he will try to use too little."

Ex-Priest

PEOPLE'S PADRE. By Emmett McLoughlin. Beacon Press. $3.95.

Emmett McLoughlin was a Franciscan priest assigned to a parish in the slums of Phoenix. Confronted by the wretched conditions around him, he raised the money to build a much-needed hospital and operated it entirely without segregation.

His ecclesiastical superiors felt he was devoting too great a proportion of his effort to the hospital and not enough to his purely priestly functions. He was ordered to leave the full-time superintendence of the institution, an order which he dodged as long as he could. At length, informed he was to be transferred from Phoenix, he left the priesthood, later the Catholic church, and eventually married.

"People's Padre" is one side of a complex story. One gets but brief glimpses of the other side in its pages, and it is certainly not up to a non-Catholic reviewer to evaluate either on such partial evidence. Nevertheless, it must be noted that Father McLoughlin had taken a vow of obedience to the Franciscan Order, a vow which he evaded and then broke. His pride in his hospital is understandable, but it *is* pride, an attitude unbecoming to a religious. He admits encouraging practices contrary to the teaching of his church while he was a priest.

Most readers will sympathize with Mr. McLoughlin's spiritual struggle. The less impulsive will tend to be a little wary of his "exposures" of the horrors of Catholicism.

With Devotion to Chiang

FORMOSA BEACHHEAD. By Geraldine Fitch. Regnery. $3.50.

One of the more obscure members of the China Lobby fraternity produces what Dr. Hu Shih, possibly tongue in cheek, calls " a very sympathetic report on Formosa as the hope of Free China." The sympathy is displayed in two ways. One approach is to show Chiang Kai-shek, his in-laws, and his officials as a group of singularly able and high-minded patriots, for whose triumphant return the mainland can barely wait. The other is to show that Chiang's downfall was brought about by treachery and conspiracy in the United States. The villains range from Dean Acheson and General Marshall to most writers on China, Owen Lattimore, and the Institute of Pacific Relations. "The combined efforts of the so-called experts of this school," Mrs. Fitch insists, "have resulted in selling China down the river." All her arguments conclude with the plea to equip Chiang Kai-shek for his landing on the mainland. No American troops will be needed, she maintains, because the people will turn on their Red tormentors as soon as they hear of Chiang's return. The book often is written with more devotion to Chiang Kai-shek than to the facts. (Has the Institute of Pacific Relations been really declared "subversive" by the United States Attorney General, and precisely when?)

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All in all, the book could be dangerously misleading were it not so clumsily put together and, in parts, outpaced by history. K. C. Wu, governor of Formosa, whom Mrs. Fitch places among the cherubs, has let her down by quitting Formosa to tell the free world the beachhead is really under police terror. When it comes to taking "K. C.'s" word against that of Mrs. Fitch, the lady doesn't stand a chance.

Secrets of Structure

THE STRUCTURE OF LITERATURE. By Paul Goodman. Chicago. $5.

Adopting the point of view that a literary work is a unit which derives its significance from its parts and their relationships, Mr. Goodman presents in this book a theory of "inductive formal analysis." His method is to probe such works as "Oedipus," "Richard II," and "The Castle" for the secrets of their structure, and to construct ingenious and valuable generalizations on this empiric basis. The procedure entails distinguishing such subtle elements as the hidden plot of a play, the degree of involvement of its characters, and dramatic reversals, and showing how they harmonize, mesh, or produce contrapuntal effects. Unfortunately, it also requires a new critical vocabulary in which harmless words like "serious" and "complex" are promoted to the status of technical terms. Literary criticism and philosophy do not often mix well. In Mr. Goodman's hands, however, they combine into a new and promising contribution, a kind of criticism whose findings are validated by accurate observation and reasoning.

Readers' Foibles

BOOKS AND PEOPLE. By Marion King. Macmillan. $5.

An informal chronicle of the last forty-seven years of the New York Society Library, published for the two hundredth anniversary of its founding. It must be said that the book will be of interest mainly to friends of and subscribers to that useful institution, but the story is told with charm and throws interesting and sometimes humorous light upon the reading habits and foibles of the subscribers and the changing techniques of library management.

The New Yorker's Addison

THE SECOND TREE FROM THE CORNER. By E. B. White. Harper. $3.

In a world of violence, extravagant fears, and strident expression E. B. White's urbane voice assures us that "the crisis is so trivial alongside the loveliness of a fall morning." From his *New Yorker* office Mr. White contemplates the fads and fancies of his day with a calmly satiric eye that refuses to be dazzled by speed, magnitude, or mechanical ingenuity. He knows that the "tranquil eye may yet outrun the rocket." The marvel of artificial insemination only makes him "sorry for cows who have to boast/of affairs they've had by parcel post." In equally felicitous prose and verse he reflects on the passing show with common sense compounded of sensibility and with humor that evokes not the belly laugh but mental smiles and heartwarming chuckles. This rich collection of essays, poems, and parodies taken, with only three exceptions, from his *New Yorker* pieces Mr. White calls a mere tidying up of his desk. Many delighted readers will call it a tidying up of their own disorderly minds.

Theater

Harold Clurman

"THE SEAGULL" (Phoenix Theater) is a play of infinite tenderness and compassionate understanding. That is why it is humorous as well as touching. Contrary to the common cliché, it is also full of action: no moment passes which is not dense with the subtlest interplay of human conflict.

It is often said that Chekhov is the dramatist of futility and frustration. This is misleading. What Chekhov tells us is not that life is a frustration but that a particular kind of life, a particular environment and time, was frustrating. This makes him a social playwright. But he is also "universal": the inner music of his work extends beyond the particular moment he depicts.

The essence of Chekhov lies in the warmth of his feeling for people, his boundless sympathy, his love. What endears his characters to us whether they be simpletons or sophisticates—and there is something charmingly and childishly foolish about all of them—is the fact that we recognize in them deeply human traits with which Chekhov identifies himself with his whole being. Because they are seen in the context of his wonderfully sound sense of life, the

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wretched fate of his characters comes to seem unaccountably worth while to us. Chekhov's plays, therefore, are never dreary, for where life is affirmed, particularly in the face of adversity, we are in the presence of the noble and the heartening.

We do not live in czarist Russia; still Chekhov is of our time. Our younger generation is not a hopeful one. For all their aches, Chekhov's people remember, yearn for, desire, and dream a good life. The key to their natures is in the cry "I want to live." This informs their sorrow with a pulsing substance of experience and meaning which enriches it beyond the muscular straining and jumpiness of our young people, unconscious of any pleasure in present difficulty because they have no vision or belief in a future to which they can look forward. Our young folk fail to have fun, because their lives have been emptied of content for want of values that might give them an inspired view of their daily activity. The girls and boys of the Miller and Williams plays might well think of the sad people of "The Seagull" as the lucky ones!

What impression the Phoenix production makes on a person who has never before seen or read "The Seagull" I cannot tell. Perhaps its beauty is still apparent. For anyone who knows the play—I have seen four previous productions—the present one is signally miscast in several important parts. I refer not only to individual actors but to a lack of homogeneity and correlation in the ensemble. Midwest speech is echoed by Russian; mid-European accent alternates with Southern United States; New York genteel tones respond to New York Irish. It is also evident that even some of the actors who are suited to their roles have not been helped by the director in their interpretations.

Maureen Stapleton, for example, is thoroughly affecting here and there because of her fine emotional endowment, but she has no specific characterization. The part she plays—Masha—is that of a woman deprived of the normal attentions and affection due her; as a result she has become mannish, eccentric, a little grotesque. But Miss Stapleton is allowed to remain the most attractive person on the stage. This distorts the story by making Treplev, who never notices Masha but persists in his desperate love for Nina (impersonated by an actress who looks old enough to be his mother), seem peculiar.

Montgomery Clift—who is well-cast—is handsome, talented, and in every way sympathetic. But his Treplev is too depressed in feeling, too rundown in appearance. Treplev is a young and ardent spirit. His tragedy is that though he contains the seed of the future, as compared to the facile but essentially uncreative novelist Trigorin, he is ground under by the weight of temporal circumstances.

The real pathos of Clift's performance, I cannot refrain from saying, is not only that he makes Treplev more downcast than he need be—and thus more American than Russian—but that as an earnest actor he believes he can pay his debt to his ideals by attempting a challenging role for four weeks out of ten years. He needs ten years of work on the stage to act as well as he potentially can in the kind of parts he aspires to. It is not idealistic and it is certainly not healthy to reserve oneself for certain rare occasions to do what one wants to.

"The Pajama Game" (St. James Theater), a musical about a near-strike in a factory (but don't let that upset you!), is a triumph of efficient showmanship and trained ebullience. Admirably staged by George Abbott and Jerome Robbins, it is chock-full of the energy of a party of gifted youngsters equipped to sing, dance, caper, and cut up as no similar group anywhere else in the world could do. The casting throughout is excellent. Eddie Foy, Jr., is a crackerjack vaudevillian; John Raitt is manly and vocally superior; Janis Paige has a robust good-nature and is satisfactorily "stacked." Credited to Bob Fosse is a Robbins type of number called "Once a Year Day"—all sex and soda-pop—which is as delightfully invigorating as a picnic is supposed to be. There is a catchy song number, "There Once Was a Man"—music and lyrics by Richard Adler and Jerry Ross—and a lively routine called "Steam Heat" featuring the dancer Carol Haney, who embodies all the show's merits.

Aside from her brilliant versatility as a performer, Miss Haney radiates a special aura because she is as much of our land as Jeanmaire is Gallic. Miss Haney uses her feminine attributes to make fun of them, just as she employs her intelligence to give the impression of a certain silliness. We adore her because we realize she is bright without our having to feel inferior about it, seductive without our having to be frightened by it. In her a latent voluptuousness is streamlined by a clipped masculine rhythm, a sharp mind is disguised by a mask of lightheaded pertness. She is woman turned into a beguilingly frivolous mechanism, woman transformed into cartoon and advertisement. She is thus a maid-of-all-work—at once solace and joke

Records

B. H. Haggin

BALLET THEATER'S single performance in New York provided an opportunity to see the dancing of Igor Youskevitch, whose completely, precisely, and elegantly achieved brilliance was the more enjoyable after Eglevsky's performances at the City Center; and the beautiful and brilliant dancing of Alicia Alonso. In addition it exhibited them in one of the company's most distinguished productions, "Giselle," with the magnificent scenery of Eugene Berman, his sumptuous costumes for the Duke and his suite, the superb black-over-white-over-green costumes of the Willis. And so the occasion was a brilliant one, even with details that troubled one occasionally. For one thing, the scenery has never been lighted effectively in the Metropolitan Opera House, and was not this time (the moon that I recall in the second act was missing). Also, there were almost too many new details of stage business and miming that Alonso and Youskevitch had thought up to make the story clear and plausible, and at the same time the same old absurdity of Wilfred's second entrance—i.e. his looking about him as though at a strange new place instead of one he had seen

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at the beginning of the first act; and this was made worse by a performance of Wilfred as poor as the one of Hilarion. And among the changes Alonso has made in her dances the changed positions of her legs in the famous series of lifts in the second act made the configuration of her body less beautiful than it used to be.

The occasion would have been even more brilliant if "Giselle" had not been preceded by Robbins's "Interplay" and followed by Tudor's "Gala Performance" —if instead the company had presented its other superb dancer John Kriza in Robbins's "Fancy Free" or Loring's "Billy the Kid."

LONDON'S first group of Telefunken recordings offers several featuring the soprano Martha Mödl: the superb *La luce langue* and the great Sleepwalking Scene from Verdi's "Macbeth," *O don fatale* from his "Don Carlo," and *Che farò* from Gluck's "Orfeo," all sung in German (TM-68009); *Abscheulicher! wo eilst du hin?* from "Fidelio" and the finale of "Tristan" (TM-68003); and the second-act duet from "Tristan," with the tenor Wolfgang Windgassen and mezzo-soprano Johanna Blatter (TM-66004). Mödl was the tremulously shrill Kundry in London's complete Bayreuth "Parsifal"; her voice is much steadier, and therefore more agreeable, in these new performances, and especially so in the Gluck aria and the "Tristan" excerpts; however even at its best it is not a voice of alluring sensuous beauty but rather one of impressive dramatic intensity; and I would still, therefore, choose Flagstad for the "Tristan" duet.

The dramatic intensity works impressively in the Verdi arias, in which the German words are disturbingly incongruous; it works with similar impressiveness in the recitative of *Abscheulicher!* and sustained phrases of *Komm' Hoffnung,* but with diminished effect in the fast concluding section of the aria because of difficulties with breath. Concerning the recording of the "Tristan" duet there are these facts to add: whereas the Flagstad-Svanholm performance begins with *O sink hernieder* the Mödl-Windgassen begins with *Isolde! Tristan!* but makes the customary big cut on the way to *O sink hernieder* (this in spite of taking two sides, as against Flagstad's one); Windgassen's rather hard voice and not very sensitive phrasing are not the best for this music, but they are acceptable; Blatter's singing is excellent; the orchestra of the Berlin Städtische Oper conducted by Rother isn't heard as clearly with the voices as it should be. The recorded sound of all the performances is good, but needs stepping up of bass.

The dubbed sound of Kathleen Ferrier's voice is brighter in *Ombra mai fù* from Handel's "Xerxes" than in *Che farò* from Gluck's "Orfeo," and quite dim in *'Art Thou Troubled* from Handel's "Rodelinda"; and it blasts in the last two (London LD-9066).

I can report excellent singing by Raphael Arie in the Rimsky-Korsakov version of *I Have Attained the Highest Power* from "Boris Godunov" (London LD-9073; with Varlaam's song and an aria from Rubinstein's "The Demon"). And in what is labeled the original Musorgsky version of Boris's Farewell and Death but is actually that version with some of Rimsky's changes (e.g., in the passage in which Boris warns his son against the boyars)—which explains why Shawe-Taylor and Sackville-West, in their "Record Guide," decided from this recording that there was little difference between the Musorgsky and Rimsky versions. On the same record (LD-9018) is a fine performance of *Ella giammai m'amò* from "Don Carlo."

Cimarosa's "Il Maestro di Capella," sung by Corena, is a little and long-drawn-out joke (London LD-9118).

The thirteen wind players of the Berlin RIAS Orchestra who perform Mozart's Serenade K.361 on a Telefunken record are not all as good as the Los Angeles players in the Capitol performance; but they play with more animation, warmth, and sensitiveness. As for the work, the introduction, the Adagio, and the variation movement are very fine; and throughout there is Mozart's marvelous writing for the instruments.

The suite from Prokofiev's ballet "Chout," played excellently by the St. Louis Symphony under Golschmann, has some of his superb early music (Capitol; with the dances from Falla's "Tricorne"). After it the Cello Sonata Op. 119, played very well by Edmund Kurtz and Arthur Balsam, is pale, thin, and dull (Columbia).

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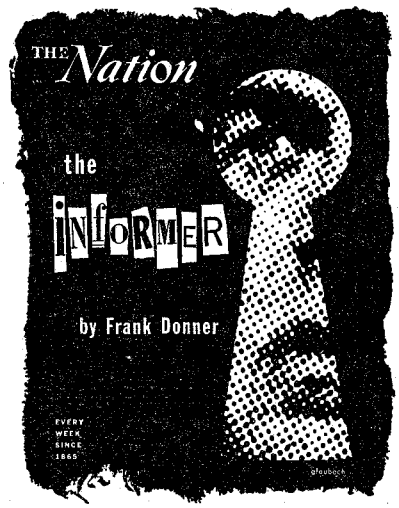

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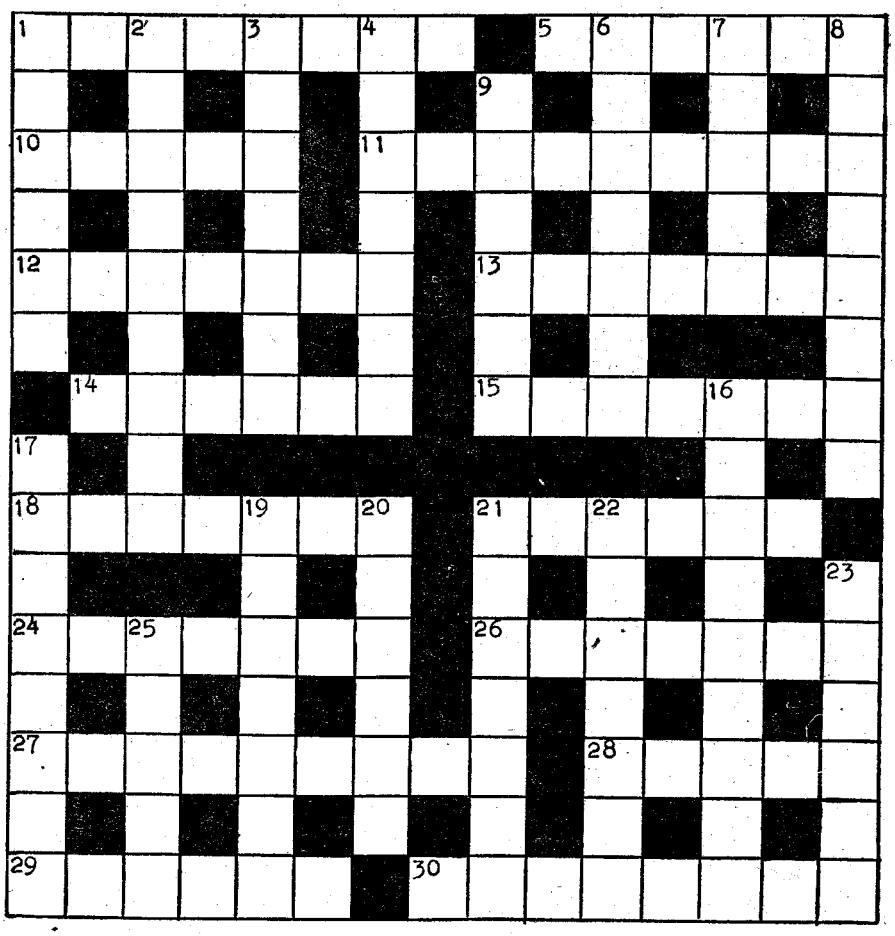

ACROSS

1 and 10. Strut, but not in a legitimate act. (6, 2, 5)
5 and 9 down. Author in a crib, with what should be heavy padding over her. (6, 6)
10 See 1 across.
11, 13 and 22 down. The clue is third down. (5, 3, 1, 7, 3, 4)
12 Plutarch said good fortune will even petty lives. (7)
13 See 11 across.
14 See 25 down.
15 Entertained like King Edward? (7)
18 Not precise, but still a nice tax to have. (7)
21 Seems a good alternative to the musical (?) demands on Richard! (6)
24 No wonder he has an oversupply of weight! (7)
26 Any exit is as bad as this, if you're looking for trouble. (7)
27 Set a measure in a comparatively few words. (9)
28 Pat speech? (5)
29 An African town is little more than citified. (6)
30 Prophesies before the wise men? (8)

DOWN

1 and 17 down. Pat handled this, and someone's palm might have been greased if it was! (14)
2 Overflow. (9)
3 See 11. (3, 4)
4 They're proverbially close, but shouldn't be in July. (7)
6 21 across is such a word. (7)
7 Might come after 13, in which case it's supposed to grow. (5)
8 One comes between each spring, like the date pine. (4, 4)
9 See 5 across.
16 It seems an awkward business! (9)
17 See 1 down.
19 Singer on a town construction job? (7)
20 It's time one holds something. (6)
21 What a halter does, so to speak. (7)
22 See 11 across.
23 It shouldn't be much of a case if a flea can carry it. (6)
25 and 14 across. Don't they seize enough to be essayists? (11)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 568

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